



AMERICANS

AGAINST

LIBERTY.



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[The Old American and Stranger]

Americans *against* Liberty :

O R A N

ESSAY on the NATURE and PRINCIPLES

O F

TRUE FREEDOM,

SHEWING THAT THE DESIGNS AND CONDUCT

OF THE AMERICANS TEND ONLY

T O

TYRANNY AND SLAVERY.

Dictum est ab eruditissimis viris, nisi sapientem, liberum esse neminem.

Quid est enim Libertas? Potestas vivendi, ut velis. Quis igitur vivit, ut vult, nisi qui recta sequitur, qui gaudet officio, qui legibus parat.

TULL.

True Liberty

always with right Reason dwells

Twin'd, and from her hath no dividual Being.

MILTON.

Where there is no Law, there is no Freedom.

LOCKE.

L O N D O N :

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A M E R I C A N S

A G A I N S T

L I B E R T Y.

NO Term, in the Compass of Language, is more liable to Perversion, or indeed has been more violently perverted, than the Word *LIBERTY*. It conveys the Idea of a most valuable Blessing, rightly understood, and rightly applied. But the Misfortune is, that, amidst all the Clamor respecting the Name, the Thing itself is frequently forgotten; and perhaps, in few Cases, has it been more entirely forgotten, than in the present Uproar of the Americans.

When we investigate the Foundations of civil Government, we must at first Sight perceive, that, in every social Compact, what is usually styled the natural Liberty of Man, or that Liberty of Action which is bounded solely by his own Will, is necessarily restrained by particular *Obligations*, common to every one included in the same Compact. To the Extent of this Obligation, constituted and intended for the general Benefit of the Society, every individual Member is a *Bondsman*. This Compact is the *Constitution* of the Society to which he belongs; this Constitution fixes a Boundary to his *natural Liberty*; and he is amenable to his Society for every Transgression of the common Boundary.

Natural Liberty is so vague a Term, that it is used to imply, sometimes unlimited Measures of Freedom, and sometimes almost none at all. The Difficulty rests upon the Word *Nature*, and then upon the Combination of that Term; how it may be so used as to express, with tolerable Definition, the Conception, which the Mind has obtained, of the *Liberty of Nature*.

The Nature of Man (which is the present Subject of Inquiry) is to be considered, in reference to human Polity, chiefly in its *moral* Capacity. Government respects moral Actions, and was ordained to direct them, or to punish the Transgression.

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If we look at Man as a moral Creature; the wide Distance we perceive him to stand from that Rectitude and Integrity, of which every Mind is conscious, leads us to conclude, that Man, being (as it were) in a State of War with himself, and all about him, is no less averse to the Will and Direction of others, than to the Suggestions and Accusations of that internal Principle of himself, which aims to prescribe a strait Line for his crooked Inclinations. This proves, that his Nature is either radically *imperfect*, or now *wandered away* from its original Rectitude. Leaving, however, that Controversy to Divines; either of these will serve for our present Purpose, which is to shew, that Man's *natural Liberty*, or the Liberty of acting according to what he now finds in his Nature, comprehends the Faculty not only of doing *as much Good as he wills*, but likewise the uncontrouled Power of doing *as much Evil as he can*. If it be said, that to do Evil is contrary to Nature; I urge again, that Evil, if there be such a thing as Evil, is *in* his Nature, and if he act according to the *whole* of what he finds within him (which he *naturally* must), he will act to the *Commission* of Evil; nor can he act according to a *Part* alone of what is within him, without a *Violence* and *Restraint* upon the rest. Thus even to be what we usually term a good Man, who, according to the old Moralists, has *conquered* himself,

himself; he must first declare War against his inbred *unruly* Inclinations, and *bind* them down in Subjection and Servitude. He gives up a Part of his natural Liberty to the Dominion of another Part, which imposes that Rule of Restraint, and which is certainly better than a wild discursive Freedom. So necessary therefore is Government, in the first Instance and in a Case which will naturally be considered with every Indulgence, that not a single Individual can live happy without it. The same Rule holds in all well governed Communities; The worse submits to the better in all things; and we never think, that Restraint and Punishment, on account of Immoralities, are the least Incroachments upon the Freedom of Society.

By the Omission of moral Evil, when we talk of our Nature, and our natural Liberties, applying both of them to Politics, many have been the Mistakes of the Multitude, and, by keeping it out of Sight, as many have been the Subterfuges of the Sophister. Hence arises the Success, which the latter has at all times obtained over the former; and hence too have sprung up, with a fungous and luxuriant Growth, that Series of inflammatory Libels and nefarious Publications, which have wasted the Manufacture of Paper and troubled the Peace of the World,

These

These Principles of Rectitude, or this Consciousness of the Worth of Virtue, still inherent in the Nature of Man, justify this Force, which is put upon his Liberty at large, or when it is directed to the Pursuit of Evil. It is a general Rule; applicable to the Conduct of *Individuals*, with respect to themselves and the Community to which they belong; and applicable also to *Societies*, with respect to their internal Government, and to other Societies about them. No Man is, or ought to be, in that absolute kind of Freedom, both for his own Welfare and the Welfare of other Men, which hath not the Rule and Dominion of Virtue. For as "absolute Power (over others) purifies not Men's Blood, nor corrects the Baseness of human Nature;" so neither does absolute Freedom within a Man's Self. The great Mr. *Locke*, of whose wide Notions of Liberty nobody has any Doubt, defining "the State of perfect Freedom," tells us, that 'tis circumscribed within "the Bounds of the Law of Nature."† Now, if he means, by this Term, a *perfect, pure and upright* Nature, there is certainly no Difficulty or Remission in the Proposition. But, if taking this word *Nature*, in a comprehensive Sense, for *all* that we find in Nature; we must include

† See his Second Book on Civil Government for this and other Quotations which follow.

Evil as well as Good, for the original *Boundaries* of which we must look farther than the Wisdom or Power of Man. It seems, therefore, scarce correct to talk of a *Law of Nature* which must be altogether *passive*, without adverting to some primary *Agent*, who formed that Nature, and imposed a Law upon it. There is a greater Fallacy in this than perhaps may appear at first View; for when Men speak of a Law of Nature, they would have us to understand the Law of a *perfect* Nature; but when we come to examine this Nature, for our Instruction, we find it extremely *erroneous*, *depraved* and *imperfect*, according to the lowest and most lax Conceptions of Morality and Virtue. Such a Nature can never exhibit that perfect Rule we require.—But if it be said, that the Nature of Man is not here intended, but the *Natura prima*, or Nature of God; I ask, where is this to be found? The Nature of God, according to the Ideas given us of him, is a perfect Assemblage of perfect Attributes. This cannot be under any Law cognizable by us, unless finite beings can comprehend what is infinite.—If it be further said, that by the Law of Nature is to be understood *the Law*, which God has given to Nature; this also will require some Explanation. We must here divide Nature into its two constituent Parts, inert *Matter* and

and active *Spirit*; the one engaged by the Objects of our *Sensation*, and the other what applies itself more particularly to our *Intellection*. Of these two last [viz. *Sensation* and *Intellection*] the former more immediately relates to our external Subsistence as Animals; the latter distinguishes us as Men. The Law which God hath given to both these Properties of our Nature, for their Formation and Support, cannot be here meant; for that is a Prescription or Line of his own Will, on which we have either no Faculties or no Right to determine; And, therefore, if there be any Law, designed for our Comprehension by him, it must be a Law, delivered from Himself to us, and equal to the Capacities of our Minds. It must be a Law, reduced to the Level of our Apprehensions, by which we are to conduct ourselves, or direct others. We could have no certain Ideas of Rectitude or Deviation but by his Communication: And, hence, it is no wonder that some ingenious People have disputed the very Existence of Evil, and rejected all Morality and Revelation together. We comprehend this Law, call it of Nature or of God (so it be not understood in a separate View from Him) only by this Revelation; and by it alone are informed of the Pleasure, which God himself has in Virtue and Uprightness. The great Philosopher above mentioned seems to have im-

plied this strictly, where, speaking of this Law of Nature, he presently refers us to the *written Law* of GOD, and particularly cites this Clause in it against *Murder, Whoſo ſheddeth Man's Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed.*

This Sort of Reasoning, though it may ſeem at firſt Sight more analogous to Theology than Politics, will not be found impertinent to our Subject, if we can eſtabliſh this Principle, as one great Pillar of all civil Government, That human Laws are to be arranged and enacted, agreeable to the Law, revealed and divine†.

We ſhall find, purſuing our Inquiries upon this Ground, that the true Freedom, allotted to Man, is a Freedom within Bounds, and that theſe Bounds are marked and preſcribed

† Of this Opinion was the judicious *Hooker*, cited by *Locke* :
 “ Human Laws are Meaſures in reſpect of Men, whoſe Ac-
 “ tions they muſt direct ; howbeit ſuch Meaſures they are, as
 “ have alſo their higher Rules to be meaſured by, which Rules
 “ are two, the Law of GOD and the Law of Nature ; ſo that
 “ Laws human muſt be made according to the general Laws
 “ of Nature, and without Contradiction to any poſitive Law
 “ of Scripture, otherwiſe they are ill made.” I inſiſt ſo much
 upon the Rule given in the *divine* Law ; becauſe many of the
 American Leaders have attempted to ſanctify their Revolt by
 a ſpecious Appearance of *Religion*. My Attempt has been to
 argue throughout *ad hominem* ; and it will remain for the in-
 telligent Reader to judge, how far the Americans are to be
 juſtified upon any ſolid Principles, *civil* or *religious* ; and how
 much they really differ from ſome reſpectable Perſons, who,
 miſtaking their Deſign, have in the Exceſs of Candor ſup-
 ported their Cauſe.

by

by his great Creator. Consequently, his *natural Liberty*, or the Liberty of following the *Depravities* of his Nature, is curtailed by a positive Injunction; the Disobedience of which is a Rebellion against his Maker.

This Power, which God has over all Men, he has delegated, for social good, to some Men over others. *The Powers that be* (says the Law of which we are treating) *are ordained by him*; and indeed it must be so, unless any Power that *is*, could have been formed either without or against his Providence. Nor is there so much *Toryism* in this Principle, as at first Sight may appear. It meddles not with the Question, whether Power originate from the King or the People: It simply says, the Powers, that be or exist, have that Existence (be the Mode whatever it may) by divine Ordination. And all Power, to whom soever it be committed, is entrusted for the Welfare and Security, and I may add for the Punishment and Restraint, of those, over whom it is established.

It would lead me too wide from my Subject in Hand, should I attempt an ample Investigation of that disputed Topic, the Origin and Right of civil Government. I cannot, however, help observing by the way, that most of the Systems or Theories, which have fallen under my View, have paid
too

too little Attention to these capital Points—
 The *Providence* of God, and the *Depravity*
 of Man. For want of Attention to these,
 their *Postulata* have been crude, complex, or
 contradictory; and the Deductions from
 them, many Times wild or pernicious, and
 often impracticable. They lose Sight of the
 Author of Nature, and even Nature itself.
 They forget the one, and misrepresent the
 other. They pourtray human Nature like a
 “ faultless Monster,” which the World can-
 not see: and, in short, represent her as unfit
 for Law, because, in their explanation, she
 cannot need it.

The Law of God was revealed, and the Law
 of Man, in Agreement with that superior Law,
 was instituted, for the Discountenance and
 Suppression of *one Part* of Man's natural Li-
 berty. So far as he observes these Laws, he
 cannot, he must not, do *Evil*. He is bound;
 he is obliged; he is a Servant, or a Subject,
 to the Determination of other men, for a
 contrary Conduct.

Is there, then, no *Freedom*? If a Restraint
 be put upon the Actions, and even Words,
 of every Man in a State, lest those Words
 and Actions occasion the unjust Detriment
 of others, however they may profit himself;
 if he dare not gratify the corrupt Inclinations
 of his own Mind; and if he cannot live by
 a Rule or Liberty of his own; has he no
 Liberty,

Liberty, no Freedom, at all? Does he, by becoming a Member of Society, become *ipso facto* a Slave? — Yes; in the Sense we have stated, he has not the least Liberty allowed him; but is compelled to observe and adhere to the Dictates of other Men — to Men, who perhaps existed Ages before him, and in whose Deliberations he could have no Voice — to Men, who contrived for themselves, and adapted the standing Modes and Maxims of Polity, all right perhaps, but all agreeable to their own Ideas. In this Sense, even BRITONS are Slaves, were born Slaves, and must, unless they will commence Savages, live and die Slaves.

But there is a Freedom, which no Constitution, no Law, no Society of Men in the World, would or can abridge—a Freedom which constitutes the Essence of the best Polity, and, without a Measure of which, not even the worst can subsist. I mean the *better Part* of Man's Liberty—the Liberty of speaking and doing what is *truly* beneficial to a Man's Person and Property, which is always compatible with the good of Society as being a Part of it; or, in other Words, the Liberty of doing what is *simply* and *morally right*. This moral Rectitude of Conduct is against no Law, infringes no publick or private Property, robs neither the Weak nor the Orphan, aims not to dissolve the Bonds of Society

ciety by hollow Pretences or mean and insidious Arts, strives to cultivate the general Peace and Prosperity, and is peaceable, easy and happy. 'Tis plain, that whatever Restraints may be laid, whatever Rules imposed, or Arrangements framed; this sort of Freedom cannot be the Object, but must be conceived as out of the Question. There are few Men of a vicious or restless Tendency, who care to dispute for this kind of Freedom. Indeed, true Liberty, like a modest Virgin, shuns Dispute and brutal Contention, chusing rather to dwell with those, who, without loud Pretensions either to Patriotism or Virtue, have usually therefore the most of both. The Design, then, of all Law, in one View of it, must be to confine and suppress Evil; or the Law would be of no Use to Society: And if the Intent of Law be the Demolition of Mischief; what Man, who deserves to live in Society, can but wish to see it in force?

It is plain, therefore, that the Liberty of a Society, or that Liberty by which the Individuals of a Society are secure and prosperous, is Liberty founded in *Law*, Liberty regulated by Goodness, Liberty purged from Evil.

But all Law implies *Government*; as Government itself, at least good Government, is a Reciprocation of *Law*. So that our
Pro-

Proposition is still the same, when we say, That Liberty rests upon a Government by Law ; a Government proceeding upon common, determinate, and well-known Principles ; a Government able also to enforce them. For a Government without Power is as poor a Defence for Liberty ; as a Government without Law is a Security for Property. Law, Government, and Power, however paradoxical it may seem when the Terms are separately considered, are all, in the present Case, the Companions, the Guards, and the Supporters of Liberty.

Thus, as it is a Truth, that if Man were not depraved, there need be no Government to curtail his natural Liberty ; so is it equally a Truth, that, being depraved, he could not enjoy his right Liberty, in common with others, without Government. In the *former* Case, the Reason of Individuals, to say nothing of the other Faculties, would be *perfect* Reason, and, as such, *uniform* and *universal* Reason ; and, consequently, there could be no Disagreement in their Ideas, or in the Practice of every human and social Virtue ; because *Difference* in a Faculty implies Imperfection. In the *latter* Situation, there are so many Evils and Infirmities, so many Differences of Opinion and Practice, that, unless there were some Rule of Right established and some Authority for the Suppression

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of

of Wrong ; Virtue would have but very little Room and Exercise in the World. The Liberty of Goodness would soon be destroyed ; at least, it could not exist in *Society*. In this View we must all agree with Mr. *Locke*, that " Law is not so much the Limitation, as " the Direction, of a [politically] free and " intelligent Agent to his proper Interest, " and prescribes no further than for the " *general* Good of those under that Law : " Could they be happier without it, the Law, " as an useless thing, would of itself vanish ; " and that ill deserves the Name of Confinement, which hedges us in only from " Bogs and Precipices. So that, however it " may be mistaken, the End of Law is not " to abolish or restrain, but to preserve and " enlarge Freedom. For in all the States of " created Beings capable of Laws ; *where* " *there is no Law, there is no Freedom.*"

But here, probably, will arise the Question ; Who shall delineate this Road of social Liberty, and have Authority to prescribe Boundaries to the wild Excursions of private Will ?

Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?

It may be answered, that where a Set of People are left at large, without the Existence of any particular Form of Government among them, and where they concur, in consequence, to establish a civil Polity, without which indeed

deed no Multitude could subsist together, without Inconvenience, for three Days ; it seems reasonable, that the *Majority* of that People should determine the Form for the rest. And whatever Form be then established, whose Object, resembling the moral Government of an higher Agent, is the general Welfare, if Mr. *Locke's* Opinion may be taken, " the Power that every Individual gave " the Society when he entered into it, *can* " never revert to the *Individuals* again, as " long as the Society lasts ; but *will always* " remain in the *Community* ; because, without this, there can be no Community, no " Commonwealth."

But if a Form be already established in a Country, either by the prior Consent of Ancestors, as is now the Case with our own and most other Countries in the World ; or by the positive Institution of God, as in the theocratic State of the Jews ; no Individual, no Minority of Individuals, no one Branch itself (if there be more Branches than one) of their Legislature, has any Right to introduce the least Alteration or Innovation, in the one Case ; and, in the other, not the whole State together. The former indeed may propose and recommend the Correction of Abuses, if any arise : But the latter, having no Flaws in their Institution, would find it their Happiness to observe it ; as we may learn by the

Jews, who had this peculiar Appointment, and only gained Sorrow by the Change.

When we talk of States and Communities, the Notion of *Individuals* is absorbed: Their Rights and Privileges are not merely their own, but the Rights and Privileges of the State to which they belong. There is nothing so a Man's own, in an enlarged political View, as to be abstracted and independent of his Community. His Lands and Property belong to him and are secured to him, not upon the Foundation of what some mistake for natural Liberty, nor upon Considerations of mere Humanity and Benevolence, but as a Member of a Community, endowed, by some Constitution, with these Advantages. Our Nation would not think it proper to commence a War for a suffering Frenchman, or for a Person unconnected with us or any Society, (if such a Person could be found) however hard and affecting their Cases might be; but, if an Englishman suffer Outrage, he claims the Benefit of his Community's Power, and he has a Right to find it. His Lands and Possessions, in the above Sense, are a Part of the Riches and Possessions of the State. Under the State he holds them, and by its Laws. He cannot enjoy them but by the Law; he cannot transfer them but by or according to Law; he cannot increase them but by Law. The Law prescribes his peculiar Right and Pro-

Propriety, and takes that Right away upon his Disobedience or Rebellion. The Law is the Guardian of his Property, and the Rule of the whole Community : It binds between the State and Individuals as a common Condition ; and so binds, that legal Possessions are not to be forfeited to the Public, or to the Crown as its Head, but by illegal Actions and Offences against the Public, or the Crown.

If we extend this Reasoning to subordinate Bodies, which are necessarily appointed in all States, such as Provinces, Counties, Towns, &c. they in like manner have nothing their own, *separately* considered from the State at large. They may have local Advantages, and local Laws ; but as there can be but one Constitution, any more than one Soul in one individual Body, in a well-ordered Empire ; there must be one general pervading Authority, which includes all Individuals and all Property, so far as it extends. Their Lands and Territories belong not to them, in a distinct and separate View, but to the Empire itself. Else, why does the Empire interest itself in their Preservation ? Why does it restrain every invading Foë, or collect its united Force to punish those who intrude ? Not surely for the sole Benefit of a Town or a Province as such, or because Injustice only may have been committed ; but because the Empire considers it as much a Part of itself,

as a Man esteems a Contusion in his Foot of some Consequence to the Health and Welfare of his whole Body, and will by no means dismember it, unless its Rottenness or Mortification endanger his Frame. The whole State is concerned for each individual Member; and, as it protects each, has a Right to demand the Means of Protection from each. To carry on our Figure; when a Man attacks or defends himself from an Enemy; his whole Force is collected; every Nerve lends its Vigor; and not the minutest Part with-holds its Proportion of Assistance. 'Tis the same in all States or great Bodies politic; or they either do not or cannot long deserve the Name.

“ But may not Individuals dislike the general Government; and have they no Remedy?”

If a Man remain in a Country, governed by any Sort of Laws, his Continuance there is a tacit Consent to the Dominion of that Country; and he is, therefore, obliged to conform to its Laws. An Englishman in Spain has no Right, from Nature or Reason, to insult the Government of that Country, merely because it is more arbitrary than his own. Let him dispose of his Property and quit the Soil; but 'tis not his Business to disturb the Peace of the Society. He may roam all over the Earth; but, if he seat himself

himself upon a civilized Spot, he ought to conform to its Institutions, till he can prevail by fair Means upon those, who have a Right to change them, to make an Alteration to his Mind.

“ But what is to be done, in case of the Innovation of arbitrary Power in a free and mixed Government ? ”

People ought to be very clear from personal or particular Prejudices, when they mean to decide upon such a Case. It is an Evil of such alarming Magnitude, that the wisest, the richest, and the most able Men in a Nation are the most concerned to prevent it ; and, without Doubt, would be the quickest to perceive it. Such will not consider the ignorant Clamors of the Multitude, nor be deluded by the artful Insinuations of the Seditious. Facts, and Facts alone, will determine their Judgement. They will examine, where this arbitrary Power resides, upon whom it operates, and what Evils are among its Effects. They will both hear, *who* complain, and *of what* they complain : And, when their Minds are convinced, will adopt no hasty, no illegal, no oppressive, or unconstitutional Measures. When Men of this Cast, in any State, are determined ; it is upon such *certain* Grounds, that almost the whole State will join them. This was remarkably the Case at the Time of the Revolution.

lution. The first Men in the Nation, who had most at Stake, were most alarmed ; and the great Body of the People soon followed them.

In our Constitution, this arbitrary Power must manifest itself either in the King, the Lords, or the Commons ; and the two last are most deeply concerned to oppose it. If the King attempt to stretch his Influence in the State, it must be at the Expence of the two Houses, and to the Diminution of their Authority. This would hardly be borne by those, who have so much Influence to reduce it : And it never can be their Interest to sustain the Innovation, while a Sentiment of Honor, or a Thought of Security to Person and Fortune, are worth a Moment's Entertainment. On the other Hand, it is hardly possible, that either or both of the Houses should effect an undue Stride of Influence, while the whole executive Power (to say nothing of its negative Voice) resides in the Crown. If arbitrary Power be charged upon the three Branches in Conjunction ; it should be recollected, that these Branches compose our Constitution, which in itself is and must be *absolute* to the Bounds of its Dominion ; though, so far from being *arbitrary*, it must annihilate its own Foundations to become so. In such an Adventure, it would commit a *Felo de se* upon itself ; to say nothing of the immense Hazard,

Hazard, to which the several Members of the Legislature must be exposed, in so vile an Undertaking. They would most probably meet with, as well as deserve, the Resentment of the People. Arbitrary Power is a gaudy delicate Plant, which thrives best in the warmest Climates : We have too many Thorns and Nettles to admit the Cultivation of such an Exotic in the Regions of Britain.

Our Representatives must be enslaved themselves, ere they can enslave us. And can it be the Object of Men of Fortune (and such are the far greater Majority of both Houses), for the sake of a little dirty Bribe, if it even were proposed, to sacrifice their Honor, their Freedom, the Freedom of their Posterity, the Security of their Fortunes and all this at the Peril of their Lives ? Is there no Virtue, no Sense, but in some declaiming Patriots, who are known to have neither Fortune nor Credit ?

——— *Credat Judæus Apella,*
Non ego.

If we are aggrieved by any Laws unadvisedly made ; if we are oppressed by any Regulations of a pernicious Tendency ; it is the Interest of no Men in the Community to relieve us, more than those, who compose our Constitution. They stand upon the *general* Bottom ; and, if they destroy that, they destroy

stroy themselves. They owe all their Influence and Dignity to the Prosperity of the Empire; and, above all things, must be zealous for its Preservation. Besides, the Constitution is lodged in too many Hands for the Power of a few to destroy it. The Throne would be convulsed as well as the Country: and hath always suffered in its Influence by the raising a general Storm. This is the Language of Reason and common Sense; and, I should suppose, it may be understood a little in Westminster, and possibly too by that ever-opprobrious Race of Men, who manage the Helm of Affairs.

The King, Lords, and Commons, as I said before, compose the Constitution, and supreme Legislature, of the British Empire. There cannot be, in a proper Arrangement of Polity, two or more distinct Legislatures of equal Authority. It will not answer in mere Speculation. Nor is there in our own. Our Constitution never knew any thing of Legislation equal to or independent of itself within its Dominion; our Law-Books have no Terms expressive of a distinct Authority; and, could any thing of that sort be admitted, our Constitution, so long the Admiration of the World, would fall into Ruins; nor, in the Event, could our Kingdom stand. Every Member of our Empire is born under this Controul, must live subject to it while he is a Member,

Member, and is protected by it as such; whether he reside in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America.

British Freedom then is a Freedom of Law, a constitutional Freedom, a Freedom of acting and speaking what is right; a Freedom founded in Reason, Happiness, and Security. All licentious Freedom, called by whatever specious Name, is a savage Principle of speaking and doing what a depraved Individual thinks fit, without Regard to the Convenience of others, or the Welfare of the World. The former is undeniably a substantial Good: The latter is indisputably the greatest Curse, that could be established for Mankind.

We may now ask; For which of these two is the present Contest and Contemplation of the *Americans*?

It cannot be for the *first*; for they have enjoyed, ever since they could be called a People, all the Advantages and Immunities of *Britons*. Not the nearest Subjects to the Throne in *England*, nor the remotest Members of the State in *Asia*, have had a wider Field of Freedom to range in, than the once happy Sons of highly-favored and indulged *America*. Can it be then for the *last* of these? Is it possible? The great Majority of the Empire, as well as the Government

and Constitution of it, are against them in this Claim, and against them for their own, as well as the general, Welfare. It is not *their* Interest to possess such a Freedom: It is *our* Duty to prevent it.

The Matter then (as we shall find) will come to this Issue; that the Rebel-*Americans*, in the wildest Delusion and by the worst of Means, are avowing themselves THE OPEN ENEMIES TO THE PUBLIC AND GENERAL LIBERTY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

This may appear a strong Proposition; but a little further Consideration may evince it true. I give them, or rather the uninformed Bulk of them, Credit, that they mean not at present to carry Matters to this enormous Length; but, while I am happy in making every Concession in their Favor, consistent with Truth, I must add, that they have been seduced, imposed upon, and betrayed.

They have been *seduced* by dishonest and designing Men. Some, wishing to cancel their Debts to Britain, have imagined that, by the Confusion of Affairs, all Claims upon them may be buried in the Ruins. Others, having little to lose and much to hope for, are for commencing political Architects, and would upon these said Ruins erect a Fabric of their own. Thus between Roguery and Ambition,

Ambition, poor *John Bull* is to be turned out of his House!

They have been *imposed upon* by inflammatory Publications, both at Home and Abroad, while the Truth, and especially of late, is denied an Access, and *ex parte* Histories alone have received a brisk Circulation. Misinformed and mistaken Men have suggested their Prejudices, and operated upon an irritable and passionate Temper, to a surprising Degree of Romance and Enthusiasm. Factious and Republican Incendiaries have also, with a malignant Industry, circulated a thousand Scurrilities and Falshoods, while the Head has been too hot to examine, and the Judgement too biased to compare.

They are *betrayed* into a civil War, upon very unequal Terms, with a State, which wishes them no Evil, and whose very Interest it is to do them none;—with a State, which would receive them with open Arms, upon the Ground of Honor, Law, and reciprocal Communication.

Thus the Enemies to British and constitutional Liberty, by Dishonesty, Falshood, and Ambition, have engaged the great Bulk of the Americans to adopt their own Views, and, by a Series of Artificial Stratagems, to support Interests, which will destroy them. Could they succeed in their Violence, it were easy to point out the Path of their Ruin
both

both from themselves and from others; but if they should not, as indeed they cannot, how can they expect in future that complaisant Indulgence to their Interests from Great Britain, which she has often given in Preference to her own?

I am, however, more directly to shew, how the *Americans* (the greater Part, as I said before, through much Ignorance and Simplicity), in their present hostile Aims, *are militating against* THE PUBLIC LIBERTIES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Their Conduct falls under this Description, as it respects;

1. Their Refusal of Subjection to the British Legislature:
2. Their Demolition of the Provincial Legislatures: And
3. Their attempt to establish Republicanism.

The two first are, in fact, comprized, in the third; but we will proceed in this Analysis *argumenti gratiâ*, and for a clearer Detection of their Proceedings.

1. The Oppugnation made to the supreme Legislation of Great Britain.

The Constitution of Great Britain is the Palladium of British Liberty throughout the Empire. This Constitution (as we have observed) consists, and has for Ages consisted, of King, Lords, and Commons, in whom,
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collectively, the Supremacy of Power is lodged over the Whole, for the Good of the Whole. Before the Existence of her present Colonies, every Member of the State was understood to be under this supreme Power of the State : And when their Existence began, they were considered as so many Branches springing from the original Stock, and receiving their Life, their Support, and their All from it. They were without the Means of Defence, and accordingly looked up for it to their indulgent Parent ; nor ever looked in vain. They received, for their Conduct, Laws and Regulations made in England, and were allowed to make local and municipal Decrees for themselves, subject however to the Controul of England, and *not repugnant* to her General and *Statute* Laws. This plainly implies their entire Subordination and Subjection to those Statute Laws, and consequently to the Power that enacts them. In Case of Disobedience, they were to be " put out of the King's Allegiance and Protection." They were ever considered, and ever expressed, under the Title, and upon the Footing, of " natural-born Subjects"; which would have been an Absurdity, but upon the Idea of their being *equally* subject to the supreme, controuling Power of the King and Parliament. Upon this Ground stood, and now stand, the Liberties of America; and upon the same Ground

Ground stand the Liberties of Great Britain. They are interwoven by one Constitution. American Liberties are not to twine like Ivy round the British Oak, feed upon its Sap, and impoverish the Stock; but must grow together with it, and form the luxuriant Branches of one spreading Tree.

There is no Liberty to be thought of among Britons, but this constitutional Liberty: And the stronger and more diffusive the Influence of the Constitution, the more secure and flourishing are the Liberties it defends. To say, that the British Constitution may become the Patroness of Tyranny, is to assert, what not only is contrary to all Fact and Experience, but what is directly opposite to Common Sense. The King, Lords and Commons of Great Britain, cannot adopt what truly deserves the Name of Tyranny, without every Hazard and Inconvenience to themselves. The KING must be made the Dupe and Drudge of His Parliament, exposed, as the great Executor of the Law, to do the dishonorable and dirty Work of abusing his People; and must be given up to the Dangers of a disputed Authority and a tottering Throne. The LORDS must not only forget all Dignity of Character but Interest of Fortune, whenever they combine in the Project of universal Slavery. Their Posterity and Property (no inconsiderable Stake for their Conduct !)

Conduct!) would, on the one hand, become exposed to a sordid Dependence on an absolute Monarch; or, on the other, be reduced in the Privileges of Rank, and sink into the common Sewer of a Democracy. Nor would the Commons be at all advantaged by a Concurrence in an arbitrary Sway, which, with respect to their own Persons, must be temporary and precarious at the best. They too have Fortunes, Character, and Families to enjoy. All may be lost, none would be secure, by a Despotism of any kind. The Sufferings of each Member may be great and total: His insecure Dominion of a Day would at most be divided, and therefore small and partial. They cannot enslave without being enslaved themselves; even though we should give no Credit to their Honor and Generosity.

“But can they not enslave *America*?” I answer; Slavery is no Part of our Constitution. We have no Idea of it in our Law. It is not to be found in our Country. Negroes here, wherever they have been Slaves before, are emancipated in a Moment by setting Foot upon our liberating Shores. We, as a Community, exercise no Cruelties; nor is any Individual suffered to exercise them. We hang even Americans themselves if they murder those, whom they make Slaves, when

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brought to the Determination of our Laws.† The British Government never tolerated Oppression; but has interposed its Power, in numberless Instances, for helpless Foreigners to rescue even them from Oppression. It never tyrannized over *Britain*: It always cherished and supported *America*.

“ But is not Taxation, without Consent, Tyranny ? ”—The Propositions of the House of Commons in February last have absolutely annihilated that Controversy. 'Tis true, Great Britain cannot give up her Right of demanding, from every Part of the Empire, the proportionate Service and Burden of each for the common Defence; yet the Offer, held out to America, of adjusting the Mode of raising that Share, gives an entire new Turn to the Question. So that it is no longer, whether the King and Parliament by the Officers of the Crown shall raise a Revenue in the Colonies; but, whether the Colonies are not bound, upon every Principle of Reason, Justice, and Duty, to contribute to the Support of the general Burden in common with the Subjects of Britain, who have heretofore been taxed Million upon Million for them. Nor are they expected to pay it into the Royal Coffers as a Civil List Subscription; but into

† Witness Captain *Ferguson* of Virginia, who now hangs in chains near Blackwall, for the Murder of his Negro Boy upon the High Seas.

a public Stock, subject to parliamentary Con-
troul, for their own Defence. But they
have rejected this peaceful Plan, and noto-
riously upon a System, inimical to the Su-
premacy of Great Britain, their best and
their only Protector. 'Tis true, before their
Project was ripe enough to be owned, *some*
of them, and the *Pensylvanians* in particular,
did talk of " settling a Revenue, from a Sense
" of Duty to their Sovereign, and of Esteem
" for their Mother-Country : "† But 'tis e-
qually true, that they never have taken one
Step to put this Sense of Duty into Exercise.
They reprobated the Proposition of Britain ;
but have never exhibited another in its stead.
Their last Address to the Throne does not so
much as glance at any such thing ; but talks
of *their* Rights and Expectations, as though
the *Mother-Country* had none.

Admitting however for a Moment, that
such Expectations of debilitating the great
Authority of the Constitution should succeed ;
what would be the Consequence ? These
Members, I mean the legislative Members or
Branches, distinct and independent of the
original Body, would grow, perhaps luxu-
riantly for a while ; but, in the End, would
be unwieldy in themselves, insupportable to
each other, and ungovernable by the Head.

† *Pensylvanian Instructions in Dickinson's Essay*, P. 19.

Having no general Controul, they would be a vast Assemblage of petty States, ever quarrelling amongst themselves, weak to resist, and always exposed to a foreign Invasion†. That this is no Conjecture, past Experience has shewn. It was scarce two Years ago, when the Virginians and Pensylvanians were upon the Point of drawing the Sword upon each other in a Dispute of their respective Boundaries. And, perhaps, but for the Quarrel excited against the Mother-Country, the New Yorkists, the Pensylvanians, and People of Connecticut, would all have been thus engaged, at this very Time, upon the same Account. They are confessedly as jealous, Province by Province throughout the Continent, of the Advantages and Commerce of their several Neighbours, as the Dutch can be of the English, or of any other commercial Power. Exclusive of all other Considerations but *these*, it would be their Wisdom, as it is their Interest, to maintain the Supre-

† “What *must be* the Consequence (says an able American Writer) of a rebellious War with the Mother-Country, any Person of common Sense, if he will take the Liberty to exercise it, may easily foresee. Even a final Victory would effectually ruin us [the Americans]; as it would *necessarily* introduce civil Wars among ourselves, and leave us open and exposed to the Avarice and Ambition of every maritime Power in Europe or America. And till one Part of this Country [America] should have subdued the other, and conquered a considerable Part of the World besides; this peaceful Region must become, and continue to be, a Theatre of inconceivable Misery and Horror.”

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macy of Great Britain, whose Power alone can protect them from the Depredations of a foreign State, and (what is of equal Consequence) preserve them from Anarchy and Bloodshed among themselves.

Thus it appears to be their Advantage, as well as Duty, their Happiness as well as their Freedom, to preserve the Constitution of Britain inviolate, supreme, and absolute, over all her Dominions. I would not mean by *absolute* Authority an *arbitrary* Power, for these are widely different; but that unlimited Ability of providing for the Welfare of the whole Empire, which is not to be impeded by the Frowardness or Obstinacy of any of its Parts. This Authority is vested in her for the Good of the whole; and those, who direct the Helm, are responsible to the whole for the Exercise of that Authority. As Tyranny, or the Abuse of this public Authority for private Ends which oppose the general Good, would be opposite to the Law of God and Nature: So the uncontrouled Liberty of depraved and licentious Individuals is equally so. I am warranted in this Reasoning by a very great Man, Mr. *Locke*, whom the Americans have appointed their political Apostle, and who asserts, that "Freedom of Men under Government, is to have
" a standing Rule to live by, COMMON TO
" EVERY ONE of that Society (meaning a
" Common-

“ Commonwealth, Empire, or Community)
 “ and made by the *legislative Power* (which
 “ he says, in another place, is the *supreme*
 “ *Power*) erected in it.” And he further
 tells us, that, “ when any Number of Men
 “ have consented to make *one* Community or
 “ Government (which Consent, he says, is
 “ implied when any one holds *Possessions or*
 “ *both Enjoyment of any Part of the Domi-*
 “ *nions of any Government*) they are thereby
 “ incorporated and make *ONE BODY politic*,
 “ wherein the *MAJORITY* have a Right to
 “ ACT and CONCLUDE the rest :” For, were
 it otherwise, as he presently observes, “ the
 “ *Variety of Opinions*, and *Contrariety of In-*
 “ *terest*, which unavoidably happen in all
 “ Collections of Men; would render the
 “ coming into Society upon such Terms
 “ only like *Cato's* coming into the Theatre,
 “ only to go out again.—Where the Majo-
 “ rity cannot conclude the rest, *there they*
 “ *cannot act as ONE BODY*, and consequently
 “ will be immediately dissolved.” Now it
 is not to be doubted, but that the *Majority*
 of Subjects in the British Empire are wholly
 against the independent Legislation and abso-
 lute Claims of the Americans; for this has
 been proved, in the only fair Way a Contro-
 versy of the kind can be proved, by the col-
 lected Wisdom and Sense of the Nation in
 their Representatives. Many of the greatest
 Traders

Traders themselves, who are most interested of any Men to preserve Peace and Quietness, are so convinced of the absolute Necessity of stopping this licentious Claim of America, that they have declared a Resolution of venturing no more Goods into that Country upon the slender Security of provincial Honor, and that they had rather suffer by a temporary Suspension of Commerce, than commit their Property to Persons, who are and would be out of the Reach of the British Laws. People may sophisticate as they please, but nothing can be more obvious than this simple Truth; that where there is not a Rule or Law equally binding upon every Member of a State, such State can neither act with Efficacy, nor remain in Security. It must be full of Discord in itself, and, of course, will be an easy Conquest to others.

2. BUT the Americans seem at present so extremely prejudiced against every thing that bears the Resemblance of the British Constitution, that they have swept away those Analogies or Epitomes of it among them in their Colony Legislatures, and so cancelled their Obedience to (what they never yet had the Boldness to deny to be) the constitutional Authority of their own Provinces. Governor Council and Assembly, the subordinate Guardians of their constitutional Liberty, are now no more. Their Plot is fancied ripe enough to enable them to throw off the Mask, While
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it was in Embryo, the founding Name of a provincial Parliament was a convenient Fallacy. It flattered the natural Vanity of an American, otherwise well-disposed, without offending his Loyalty; and it was a favorable Step to those, who had further Views, but had not yet the Confidence to speak them out. Thus urged, though by many different Motives, the Provincials could be satisfied with nothing but a *Parity* of Power with the Parent-State, talked high of their own Importance and Dignity, and fancied, at length, that the very Opulence and Commerce of Britain was entirely supported by themselves. Some ingenious Folks at Home have contributed to swell this American Bladder. Hence they have been called in the highest Style of Bombast, "the sole Basis of our Empire;" and it has been said, that her Opposition will give Great Britain "a Wound, which no Time can heal," and that the last Resource of the Mother Country will be, "to have a philosophical Sense of Dignity step in under the Shape of Consolation." Alas, poor Britain!

Well; they have accomplished one Purpose, and have made one very considerable Advance in support of their favorite Idea. They have now nothing *constitutional* standing in their Way in America; so that, thus far at least, they have weakened the general Bulwark, and the true Liberty annexed to it, the whole

whole Empire. They may triumph over the venerable Ruin, and, with a fanatic Ardor, exult; *Babylon the Great is fallen, is fallen.* They have expunged, as far as possible, every Appearance of British Liberty from among them: Britons are no longer safe in these revolted Regions; and their Properties, confided to provincial Honor, have been entrusted, it appears, upon a troubled Sea, which casteth up Mire and Dirt.

Mire and Dirt—in the one, the Worth of British Manufactures is stuck fast and probably sunk; with the other, the Proprietors, and even their own best Friends at Home, are bespattered and abused.

The Noble Peer, whose ministerial Talents were attended with so much Applause and Success in the Conduct of the last War, and who has been ever ready to patronize the Cause of the Colonies, so far as is consistent with their Subordination to Britain, did not, and could not, patronize what is now become “the good old Cause” sufficiently for their independent Views and Inclinations. They have embraced his Assistance as far as it went; and when his Lordship would step no farther, they left him behind, with such Marks of ungrateful Resentment, as would offend a Mind, less susceptible of the Mortifications of Contempt and Desertion, than his Lordship’s is conceived to be. The Noble Lord was

too much a Friend to the Navigation Act and the
 other Acts which support it, to be the Friend
 of a Commerce, which would rival Britain
 in many Instances, and advantage her in none.
 His Lordship considered it as "the legal,
 " constitutional, and HITHERTO unque-
 " stioned Prerogative of the Crown, to send
 " any Part of the British Army to any of the
 " British Dominions and Possessions, whether
 " in America, or elsewhere, as His Majesty,
 " in the due Care of his Subjects, may think
 " necessary for the Security and Protection of
 " the same, and " that this Prerogative
 " cannot be rendered dependent upon the
 " Consent of a provincial Assembly in the
 " Colonies, without a most dangerous In-
 " NOVATION and Derogation from the Dig-
 " nity of the imperial Crown of Great Bri-
 " tain." This did not square with their
 Notion of permitting or not permitting these
 British Troops to appear in Territories, which
 they call their own; the Arrival of whom,
 without their Consent, first had and obtained,
 they termed, and long before their Com-
 mencement of open War, "an hostile and
 " unjustifiable Invasion." This is their Re-
 solution, the Resolution of the combined
 Wit and Wisdom of America, "That the
 " keeping a standing Army in the Colonies,
 " in Times of Peace, *without the Consent of*
 " *the Legislature of that Colony in which such*
 " Army

" Army is kept, is against Law!" i. e.
 against *their* Law; for no Law of the Consti-
 tution, common or statute, says any such
 Thing. His Lordship also conceived, that
 " they would give a just and free Aid in
 " such honorable Proportion, as may seem
 " meet and becoming from great and flou-
 " rishing Colonies towards a Parent-Country,
 " laboring under the heaviest Burdens,
 " which *in no inconsiderable Part* have been
 " willingly taken upon ourselves and Poste-
 " rity, for the DEFENCE, EXTENSION and
 " PROSPERITY of the COLONIES." No,
 said the Colonies, when this Proposition
 " made its way to the remotest Wilds of
 " America;" no Power on Earth has a
 Right to take our Money from us without
 our Consent: We do not consent to this Pro-
 position, but think it more insidious than
 that of the Parliament: *Ergo*, you have no
 Right to expect any such matter from us.
 Thus a gracious Economy furnishes them
 with any Argument, and every Argument, for
 leaving their Parent Country, laboring under
 the heaviest Burdens, taken upon her, and
 her Children, and her Children's Children,
 for American Defence, Extension and Prof-
 perity.—And thus the Americans have de-
 ferted his Lordship, and, according to his
 Idea, the Constitution together.

Conduct like this might well wring a Complaint from another of their Noble Friends, whose Learning and Abilities are indeed an Honor to his Profession, similar to that upon another Occasion; when he is reported to have said, " I protest, I am afflicted with Grief, when " I reflect on their Proceedings; in such an " arduous Moment, that such a Plan, the " Labor of such Talents and such Experience " should be rejected, even from their Con- " sideration, with such indecent Indigni- " ty!" †

Which of their Friends have not they slighted and abused? Upon whom have not they scattered their opprobrious Dirt? Another Noble Lord, high, and deservedly high, in his Country's Honors and Esteem, who led the Administration that concurred in, and who himself advised and promoted, what is now called " The Declaratory Act;" has not escaped a Sample of their indiscriminate Vengeance. His Lordship has been heard to " express pretty strongly," what every Lover of his Country must concur in, " his Ad- " herence to his old Opinion of the Propriety " of the declaratory Act, which he seemed " to consider as NECESSARY TO THE DOMI- " NION OF THIS COUNTRY, and NO WAY " HURTFUL TO THE FREEDOM OF AME-

† Parliament Register, Lords' Debates, page 88.

“ RICA.”* But the Americans have classed this very Act, and marked it with Capitals for particular Observation, amongst those, of which they say, that their “ immediate Tendency is to subvert the Right of their having a Share in Legislation, by rendering Assemblies useless;—and that they form a regular System of subjugating the Colonies.”† Whoever looks into the Proceedings of their Congress, will find, that no one Act has been more severely animadverted upon, or hung up higher for popular Detestation, than this very Law, which their much-abused Friends, who promoted it, have uniformly considered as indispensably necessary to the Welfare and Dominion of this Country. They have stigmatized it as “ unconstitutional and the Source of these unhappy Differences;”‡ and assert, that “ the Wit of Man cannot possibly form a more clear, concise and comprehensive Definition and SENTENCE OF SLAVERY, than the Expressions” which this Act contains.|| And all amounts to the formidable Charge upon his Lordship and Friends, who in great Charity stepped forth to relieve their indigent Cause, of combining, or at least sharing in the Attempt, with the present “ wicked and

* Parl. Reg. Lords' Debates, P. 16. † Letter of Congress to the Colonies in 1774. ‡ Pensylv. Ref. V.

|| Instruct. to Pensylv. Members.

“ aban-

" abandoned Administration," to enslave
 " them. Probably the Reason of this apparent
 Ingratitude, or (as themselves term it) American
 Virtue, is, that they have such a Number
 of redoubtable Heroes of their own to
 vend their Stock of Panegyric upon, as to
 render it impossible to spare any for Exporta-
 tion; so that the whole " Torrent of Pa-
 " negyrist's," being confined to one Channel,
 " may roll down their Reputations to that
 " latest Period, when the Streams of Time
 " shall be absorbed in the Abyss of Eter-
 " nity." §

By destroying the System of Government
 established by Great Britain among them, and
 annihilating the Powers of the Governors,
 Councils and Assemblies, in their several Pro-
 vinces; they likewise diametrically contravene
 the Judgement of the great Mr. *Locke*, their
 professed Director. He tells us, that " the
 " LEGISLATIVE is not only the SUPREME
 " Power of the Commonwealth (by which
 " Term he every where Means the Communi-
 " ty under any Form of Government), but is
 " sacred and unalterable in the Hands, where
 " the Community have once placed it;—nor
 " can any Oaths to any foreign Power what-
 " soever, OR ANY DOMESTIC SUBORDINATE
 " POWER, discharge any Member of the Society

§ *Suffolk Resolves*, patronized by the Congress in 1774,
 said to be drawn up by Dr. Cooper of Boston.

" from

" *from his Obedience to the Legislative*, acting pur-
 " suant to their Trust; nor oblige him to any
 " Obedience, contrary to the Laws so enacted,
 " or farther than they do allow; it being
 " *ridiculous* to imagine, one can be tied ul-
 " timately to obey ANY Power in the Society,
 " which is not the SUPREME." And again
 he says, " In a constituted Commonwealth,
 " standing upon its own Basis, and acting
 " according to its own Nature, that is, act-
 " ing *for the Preservation* of the Community
 " [i. e. by keeping it entire], there can be
 " but ONE SUPREME POWER, which is
 " the LEGISLATIVE, to which ALL THE
 " REST *are and must be subordinate.*" Mr.
 Locke also quotes the judicious Hooker, as
 concurring in the same Sentiment. " The
 " *publick Power* of all Society is above every
 " *soul contained in the same Society*; and the
 " principal Use of that Power is, *to give*
 " *Laws to all that are under it*, which Laws,
 " in such Cases, we must obey, unless there
 " be Reason shewed, which may *necessarily*
 " enforce, that the Law of Reason, or of
 " God, doth enjoin the contrary." This
 joint Opinion evidently implies these three
 Propositions:

1. That there is, and can be, but one Supreme Power in a well ordered State.

2. That this Supreme Power is the Legislative Power, which hath a Right to make Laws binding upon the Whole, for the Good of the Whole.

3. That

3. That no subordinate Power, whether foreign or domestic, can release any Members of the Society from this indefeasible Obligation.

Applying these Propositions to the Case before us, we may observe, that the King and Parliament is the one supreme Power of the British Empire; unless the Empire be thrown into the political Confusion of *imperium in imperio*, and can admit the Misfortune, as well as the Error, of different and clashing Authorities: That this Power of King and Parliament, being the only supreme Power known to the British Constitution, is the legislative Power, which hath a Right to bind the whole and every Part of the British Empire, for the general Welfare: And that no provincial or municipal Power, much less extra-provincial and congressional Powers, unknown and repugnant to all Law and Order, can acquit any Subjects from their Loyalty and Duty, or sanctify any Acts of Treason and Rebellion committed by them.

In Opposition to all this, the Colonies do publish, assert and declare, that "they are entitled (though they have not quoted the Statute which entitles them) to a free and EXCLUSIVE POWER OF LEGISLATION *in their SEVERAL provincial Legislatures;*" though they must recollect, or all the World will do it for them, that the Colonies never enjoyed,

enjoyed, and cannot, *as Colonies*, enjoy any such Privilege or Emancipation. What a *Hydra*, were it possible to realize the Idea, and reduce it to Practice! We should crumble into so many petty distinct States, without any one coercive and directing Power to collect the Strength of the several Parts, and must fall therefore an easy Prey to the first sworn Enemy of our Liberties and Country. We should soon forfeit that happy Singularity, which the Americans themselves allow us, when they declare, that "Great Britain, and her Dominions *excepted*, there is scarce a Spot on the Globe inhabited by civilized Nations, where the Vestiges of Freedom are to be observed."†

BUT "the Americans have promised that, upon the Requisition of the Crown, they would grant their voluntary Subsidies?"

Admitting, that we could forget their Conduct in the Beginning of the last War, when they would scarce advance any thing to save themselves, and when (if the *Marquis de Montcalm*, the French Governor of *Canada*, may be credited) half of the most powerful Colonies might have been engaged by France in a Neutrality; and admitting too, that these Subsidies might be large and free, such as "might seem meet and becoming from

† *Pennsylvanian Instructions in Dickinson's Essay. P. 24.*

“ great and flourishing Colonies ” to their Prince ; could the Policy of the most flagitious and subtle Minister more fatally expose the Liberties of the whole Empire to Dissolution, than such a Conduct as this ? A small Share of Address in managing so many discordant Interests, so many different Legislatures, and so many unaccountable Subsidies, might set one Part against another, and finally subjugate the whole. An Enemy might prescribe the Rule, *divide & impera* ; but none, surely, but Madmen, could propose it for themselves. For, as a very ingenious Foreigner hath observed, and lays it down as an incontrovertible Maxim in Politics, “ A Sovereign, who depends, with regard to Supplies, on *several* Assemblies, in fact depends upon none.” — “ Nothing therefore (adds he) could be more fatal to English Liberty, and to American Liberty in the Issue, than the Adoption of the Idea, cherished by the Americans, of having independent Assemblies of their own, who should treat immediately with the King, and grant him Subsidies, to the utter Annihilation of the Power of those antient, and hitherto successful, Assertors of General Liberty, the British Parliament.” † So much is it the Interest of the whole Empire, that the Money, voted to the Crown, should pass through the

† Dr Loxme's Constitution of England, P. 52.

Hands and be subject to the Controul of the British Commons, that, as the same judicious Writer observes elegantly in another Place, " the finest Government upon Earth was in " Danger of total Destruction, when *Bartholomew Columbus* was on his Passage to *England*, to teach *Henry the Seventh* the Way " to *Mexico* and *Peru*.†

3. THE Americans, then, have demolished the Government, delegated to them from their Parent-State, and have renounced the Operation of the one and Superiority of the other, in order to set up, what was the *third* Charge against them, an independent, arbitrary, democratical Government of their own; which, so far as it hath proceeded, hath destroyed all British constitutional Liberty, and aims to destroy (which God forbid) the whole.

I need not descend to particular Facts, which must be as fresh upon every Man's Memory here, as they are indelible from the Memories of those who have suffered abroad, to prove the *Tyranny* of that violent and republican Spirit, which now prevails in the Colonies. It will be sufficient if, omitting the Detail of this melancholy Business which will merit a different Investigation, I take the Sum of what has already occurred to the

Ibid. P. 423.

Confusion of all Order, and the Disgrace of Humanity itself.

The Americans, as one of the first Acts of their joint Enmity to the Authority of the King and the British Parliament, that only Palladium of all true Liberty to Britons, interdicted the British Commerce, upon Pains and Penalties, inflicted by no Law, and specified by no Measure. So far from wishing the Sanctions of Law and Justice, they have shut up their Courts of Law to every Claim of the British Merchants, whose Credulity, unsuspicious of such enormous Dishonesty in Persons who make the loudest Pretences to Urbanity and Religion, had entrusted them with their Property, and supported them in their Trade. So consummate a Fraud by so large a Body of Men, was never transacted by a Combination of Turks. A Turk would deem himself insulted to be compared with Christians like these. The very Arabs would scorn so vile and so mean a Breach of Confidence, and, with no Pretences of Piety, would detest a Conduct so glaringly impious. The Property, not only of the Inhabitants of Britain, but of the Residents of America, has been seized by lawless Committees, merely on Account of a Difference in Opinion, or the Suspicion of a Difference. Persons, who have transgressed no Law, have been stigmatized and held up as public Enemies for Assassination
or

or Ruin, only for refusing Obedience to the arbitrary Dictates of an audacious Committee or an impudent Mob. Houses, the Castles of Englishmen, have been violently forced and searched for the Seizure of what any Man has a Right to keep, when the Law has forbidden it to none. The very Food and Apparel of People have been prescribed, not from the Plea of a physical Regimen, but from the illegal Determination of an illegal Assembly of Men, who, scarce qualified to be Servants, have dubbed themselves Masters of an Empire. Out of sheer Liberty, People are obliged to eat, drink, and wear nothing as they please. And, as if it were not sufficient to *force* People against the Laws, the arbitrary Republicans have combined to *cheat* them out of their Property. For they have voted a Paper-Currency, upon their own Faith (*Græca Fides!*), as a legal Tender, which, when it has answered the vile and insidious Purpose of getting Treasure and Property out of the Hands of the Holders, will not, and cannot, be worth, in the Sum of things, one single Farthing to the Possessors. No Persons dare to refuse this Paper, through Fear of arbitrary Punishment, and of exposing themselves, their Families and their all, to the Mercy of a furious and ungovernable Multitude. And thus they have begun a ruinous War,

in

in which they have staked, both voluntarily and involuntarily, all the Wealth and Peace of America, against the Power and Opulence of Great Britain. Nor is there any Chance of escaping from Ruin by this Manœuvre, but by ruining their only Propand Stay, Great Britain; and not even then, for their Treasure will be expended, their Commerce destroyed, and every Means of Wealth exterminated, in the very Decision of the Contest. This Idea, very able Persons among themselves, who cannot be suspected, and whom they do not suspect, to have any separate Attachment or Predilection for Britain, have stated again and again. Such Men were too wise for their first Congress, and have therefore been omitted in their second. And so anxious have their Incendiaries been to bring Matters to this tremendous Crisis, that they have not suffered them to hold out one conciliatory Proposition, but in such a Way and of such a Kind, as offered Insult to the Patience and Dignity of the State. To crown all their savage Enormities, the *Persons*, as well as the Properties of innocent Individuals, must, willing or unwilling, be committed in Rebellion: For they have forced Husbands from their Wives and Children, and Sons from their Parents, under the Penalty of a Gaol and the most dangerous Severities, into an Army, whose Leaders are composed either
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of ungrateful and ambitious Deserters, or of ignorant and despicable Leaders. In short, no Severity has been spared to intimidate or compel the loyal Subject, against his Will, his Interest, and his Duty: No Cruelty has been omitted, which Savages would omit, upon those, who have opposed their violent Proceedings, and have had the Misfortune afterwards to fall into their Hands. Thus are the *Americans* arrived to the full Development of Mr. *Locke's* great "Mystery (as he terms it) in Politics"——"A Government without Laws, inconceivable to human Capacity, and inconsistent with human Society."

This is a true Representation, and no exaggerated Description, or Caricature, of the Proceedings of the Arch-Rebels, who have had the Effrontery to style that Part of the British Dominions, THE TWELVE UNITED PROVINCES OF NORTH AMERICA, thereby erecting themselves, or meaning to erect themselves, either into a sovereign independent State, or, which is more likely, into several distinct and independent Democracies.*

* One of the American Writers, an Agent to the republican Faction at Boston deputed to New York a few Years since, pleased with the Progress of his Countrymen towards the State of Independency, vented the Effusions of his Patriotism in this rhapsodical Apostrophe: "Courage, Americans!—The Finger of God points out a mighty Empire to your Sons!—We need not be discouraged—The angry Cloud will soon be dispersed—The Day dawns, in which the Foundation of this mighty Empire is to be laid, by the Establishment of a regular American Constitution. All that has hitherto been done,

Of the Liberty to be enjoyed under these rebellious Demagogues, we have an admirable Sample before us: And I would ask any dispassionate Man, who loves the Reality more than the mere name of Liberty, whether any thing of this Sort is to be apprehended under our mild auspicious System, either here or in America? A System, in the Management of which, as Foreigners with Amazement and Admiration are compelled to own, that, "if they look at the Conduct of all public Officers in England, from the Minister of State, or the Judge, down to the lowest Officers of Justice; they find a Spirit of Forbearance and Lenity prevailing in England among all Persons in Power, which cannot (they say) but create the greatest Surprize in those, who have visited other Countries."†

"done, seems to be little beside *the Collection of Materials* for the *Constitution of this glorious Fabric*. 'Tis Time to put them together. The Transfer of the European Part of the Family is so vast, and our Growth so swift, that, *before seven Years rollover our Heads*, the first Stone must be laid.—Peace or War; Famine or Plenty; Poverty or Affluence; in a Word, no Circumstance, whether prosperous or adverse, can happen to our Parent; nay, no Conduct of her's, whether wise or imprudent; no possible Temper on her Part, whether *kind or cross-grained*, will put a Stop to this *Building*." So long have the republican Architects drawn the Plan of this glorious Pile! So long have they waited to celebrate the Jubilee of Independence! And so long have these Worthies (to use the Phrase of their old Friend *Hudibras*)

— "Felt such Bowel-Hankerings
"To see an Empire *all of Kings*;
"Deliver'd from th'Egyptian Awe
"Of Justice, Government and Law!"

† Dr LOLME. Page 443.

This

This Lenity and Forbearance none have experienced more than the Americans themselves ; and yet none have upbraided the Government with more harsh and loud Appellations of Tyranny and arbitrary Rule than they. Could they but have experienced the Difference of any one other Government upon earth, they would be ready to say of their Countrymen, what all the World must say of them ;

O nimium fortunati, bona si sua norint !

Our Constitution is obliged to Foreigners for an Eulogium, which they, who feel its Blessings, should have been the first to pay themselves.

And can the Oppugnation of British Dominion be justified upon any Principle or Theory ? Mr. *Locke*, an incontestable Authority with the Americans, shall answer :
 “ EVERY MAN (says this able Speculatist),
 “ that hath any Possessions or Enjoyment of
 “ ANY PART of the Dominions of ANY
 “ GOVERNMENT, doth thereby give his tacit Consent, and is as far forth obliged to
 “ Obedience to the Laws of that Government, *during such Enjoyment*, as any one
 “ under it ; whether this his Possession be of
 “ Land to him and his Heirs for ever, or a
 “ Lodging only for a Week ; or whether it
 “ be barely travelling freely on the Highway ;
 “ and, in Effect, IT REACHES AS FAR AS
 “ THE BEING OF ANY ONE WITHIN THE
 “ TERRITORIES OF THAT GOVERNMENT.”

And further : “ It would be a direct Contra-

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“ diction

" diction for any one to enter into Society
 " with others, for the securing and regulating
 " of Property, and yet to suppose *his Land*,
 " *whose Property is to be regulated by the Laws*
 " of the Society, should be exempt from the
 " Jurisdiction of that Government, to which
 " he himself, the Proprietor of the Land, is a
 " Subject: By the same Act, therefore,
 " whereby any one united his Person, which
 " was before free, to any Commonwealth [or
 " Community], by the same he unites his
 " Possessions, which were before free, to it
 " also; and they become, both of them, PER-
 " SON and POSSESSION, subject to the Go-
 " vernment and Dominion of that Common-
 " wealth, as long as it hath a Being." Thus
 much for the Measure of Rule: Now for the
 Right to resist. The same Gentleman, speak-
 ing of the *Resistance* of the People against their
 Governors, when they think themselves ag-
 grieved, advises; " Let not any think, this
 " [Right of Resistance] lays a perpetual
 " Foundation for Disorder; for this [Right]
 " operates not, till the Inconvenience is so
 " great, that the MAJORITY [meaning of
 " the whole State or Empire] feel it, and
 " are weary of it, and find a Necessity to
 " have it amended." But this is so far from
 being the Case, that the great Body of the
 Empire cannot perceive, that the Americans,
 which are but an inferior Part, have felt any
 other

other Inconveniencies, than what their own Forwardness in imposing Rules of Commerce, and their own Haughtiness in abusing the common Government, have brought upon them. Let them name the Tax, or the Imposition, whose Burden they cannot bear. So far from having been distressed, 'tis the Prosperity of the Americans, which has occasioned this intolerable Elation of Mind, and brought Ruin and all the Horrors of a civil War to their very Doors. And so remote is it from the Desire of Britons to oppress, that let them but throw down the Implements of War, and acknowledge their Error; let them propose, in the Language of their Noble Friend, "a just and free Aid in such honorable Proportion, as may seem meet and becoming from great and flourishing Colonies towards the Parent Country," labouring under Burdens taken up and sustained greatly on their Account; they would be received with Gladness; they would be treated with every Cordiality of Brethren, and admitted to their usual Rank and Consideration in the Empire. Let them not be deceived however in supposing, that this is a War carried on against *Administration* (as some of their curious Correspondents here, who wait the Reward of their Crimes, have aimed to persuade them): For every Man, who loves his Country, and sees but a little into the Consequences of dismem-

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bering

bering and dividing its Legislature, will perceive that they fall under that Definition of Rebellion, which the worthy Author above referred to (often abused to the Purposes of Sedition) has clearly given them in his Treatise upon Civil Government. " Rebellion, " says he, being an Opposition, not to PER- " sons but AUTHORITY, which is founded " only in the Constitutions and Laws of the " Government; those, WHOEVER THEY BE, " who by Force break through, and by Force " justify their Violation of them, are truly " and properly REBELS." Had it been possible for Mr. *Locke* to have seen the present Temper and Conduct of the Americans, he could not have marked them with greater Precision, than in the Extract before us.

It appears then, upon the whole, that those of the Americans, now in Rebellion, are aiming to reduce the Strength and Constitution of Great Britain, by impeding her Commerce, denying her Supremacy, and abolishing her Civil Offices of Government among them: And also that they are endeavoring, with the basest Ingratitude to a Parent from whom they derive all their Consequence, to strip her by force of Arms of a considerable Part of her Dominions, for which she sacrificed her Blood and Treasure in a War, principally undertaken for their Protection and Security. It further appears, that all this is maintained
against

against the clearest Dictates of Equity, Duty and Reason, which, with one Consent, delivered by the Pen of their favorite Reasoner, assert, that "as Government cannot be supported without great Charge, 'tis fit that "EVERY ONE, who enjoys a Share of the "PROTECTION, should pay, out of his Estate, "HIS PROPORTION for the Maintenance of "it." But this *Proportion* is more than they are desired to pay. Leave has been given them, with the utmost Liberality of Sentiment, to specify their own Sums among themselves; and Government, rather than bear the Imputation of Harshness upon its younger Children, would accept any reasonable Acknowledgement of their Duty, either by a Ratio established on the Taxes of Britain or otherwise as may suit them better, and still impose the Weight of the Load upon those elder Shoulders, who have borne it so long (and without Resistance too) for the general Good.

At all Events, we Britons know for what we contend; but the Americans (excepting their republican Demagogues) know not. We stand up only for our Constitution, and to keep it from being split into Parts for an easy Destruction by a malicious Foe. In doing this, we strive for the only Security which our Liberties can find upon Earth: And it will be seen that, in this Contention
and

and in such a Cause, Britons are Britons still; and that, as America has been the first to take up Arms, Great Britain will be the last to lay them down. The Rebels, on the other hand, are disputing either for an Establishment of Anarchy, or for the Erection of weak disjointed States, which, if the Object could be obtained, must be one of the greatest Curses that could befall them. I mean not, that the Americans in general have this detested Scheme in view; but, 'tis now conceived, *who* among them have. Hungry Adventurers, broken Merchants, and ambitious Leaders, are always suspicious Disputants for Liberty; especially, as such People stick at no Means to accomplish their selfish and desperate Ends. The constant Wish of such Men resembles the Petition of the old Highland Chieftains, whose usual fervent Grace was, "*Lord! turn the World upside down, that Christians may make Bread out it!*" The plain English (says my Author) of this pious Request is, That the World might become, for their Benefit, a Scene of Rapine and Confusion*. I know, the "Pulpit, and Drum Ecclesiastic," have also resounded the infamous Alarm; and have striking Proof how a Set of Men, who

* PENNANT'S *Voyage to the Hebrides*.

pretend

pretend to inculcate the Religion of Peace,
have

- “ Laid out their spiritual Gifts to further,
- “ Their great Designs of Rage and Murther;
- “ And fancy that they have a Mission
- “ To preach the Faith with Ammunition.”

But the Shipwrights are quieted, Foreigners are deaf, and the Transmission of Falsehoods can deceive no more. There are some, who will thoroughly comprehend these Hints: It will be happy for them, if such Proof be not accumulated, as to preclude all Necessity of Amendment. Constant Additions cannot fail of filling up the Measure of Iniquity.

In the mean Time, every true Patriot, not the noisy restless Animal usually miscalled by that Name, will join Hand and Heart, so far as his Influence extends, that neither the Rebels themselves, nor their Instigators here, may triumph over the constitutional Supremacy of his King and Country. Nothing could more evince the Patriotism and Magnanimity of Administration, than their voluntary Exposure of themselves to the Censure of the misguided and misinformed Multitude, to the Trouble of carrying on this disagreeable Contest, and to the Anxiety which must naturally arise in the Direction of all coercive Measures; when, by giving up the Fortress of our happy Constitution to the
Clamor

Clamor of the Ignorant or Seditious, they might have passed on with as much Ease and Tranquillity, as the Prospect of an exalted Dominion and a sinking Land, could have afforded them. Their Conduct, in this Cause, hitherto, deserves the Thanks of their Country: A timid and conceding Behaviour would have merited, in the Sum of things, its severest Indignation.

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